

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01  
BIB-01 COME-00 EB-07 LAB-04 SIL-01 /072 W  
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FM AMCONSUL MILAN  
TO AMEMBASSY ROME  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 5173

C O N F I D E N T I A L MILAN 0104

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, PINR, PGOV, IT  
SUBJECT: LOMBARDY REGION PRESIDENT GOLFARI ON NATIONAL  
POLITICAL SITUATION

REF 76 MILAN 2412

SUMMARY: GOLFARI SAYS COMMUNIST SUPPORT FOR MAJOR DILUTION  
OF SCALA MOBILE CAN BE HAD WITHOUT ADMITTING THEM TO  
NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. HE SAYS PCI ADMISSION IN CONCEIVABLE  
UNDER ANY FORESEEABLE CIRCUMSTANCES.

1. DURING MEETING WITH CONGEN JANUARY 19, DC LEFT WING  
PRESIDENT OF REGION CESARE GOLFARI, SAID THAT FORM OF ANDREOTTI  
COLLABORATION WITH COMMUNISTS REALLY MADE NO DIFFERENCE AS LONG  
AS COMMUNISTS DENIED MEMBERSHIP IN GOVERNMENT. THAT WAS LINE  
THAT NO CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT COULD AGREE TO CROSS IN FORSEEABLE  
FUTURE WITHOUT RISKING SPLIT IN DC PARTY.

2. HOWEVER, WHETHER ANDREOTTI CONSULTED BERLINGUER BY PHONE,  
OR IN HIS OFFICE OR WITH OTHER PARTY LEADERS AROUND TABLE WAS  
MATTER OF INDIFFERENCE. REALITY WAS THAT DC HAD TO COME TO TERMS  
WITH PCI ON PUBLIC POLICY TO DEAL WITH ITALY'S PRESENT PROBLEMS.  
AS LONG AS THIS COULD BE DONE WITHOUT BRINGING PCI INTO  
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GOVERNMENT, GOLFARI SAID FORMAT FOR REACHING AGREEMENT NOT  
SIGNIFICANT. TRUE, IT HAD PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE IF IT WERE  
MADE AN ISSUE. BUT IN REAL TERMS, HE WOULD NOT QUIBBLE.

3. GOLFARI WOULD PREFER THAT ZACCAGNINI TAKE INITIATIVE WITH  
BERLINGUER TO SOLVE SCALA MOBILE ISSUE AT PARTY RATHER THAN  
GOVERNMENT LEVEL. BUT, HE LAMENTED, ZACCAGNINI LACKS THE GET UP

AND GO REQUIRED TO RELEIVE ANDREOTTI OF SOME OF THE POLITICAL HEAT.

4. THE SCALA MOBILE HAD TO BE MODIFIED, GOLFARI INSISTED. EVERYONE KNEW THAT. AND THE ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT SHOULD TAKE A TOUGH LINE WITH THE UNIONS AND FORCE THROUGH LEGISLATED CHANGES. THE COMMUNISTS COULD BE COUNTED UPON TO MAKE THIS POSSIBLE IF SOME SORT OF CONSULTATION WITH THEM WERE ACCEPTED. MAYBE THAT AT A PARLIAMENTARY LEADER LEVEL WOULD SUFFICE. IF NOT, A SUMMIT SESSION WITH ANDREOTTI, BERLINGUER, CRAXI, ET AL WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE. PERHAPS IT WOULD HAVE TO BE SWEETENED WITH PROGRAM CONCESSIONS TO THE PCI IN AGRICULTURE OR CIVIL RIGHTS OR SIMILAR.

5. ASSUMING THAT THE PCI WOULD ACCEPT BASIC CHANGE IN THE SCALA MOBILE, GOLFARI SAW A SCENARIO IN WHICH THE TRADE UNIONS HELD A GENERAL STRIKE, THE COMMUNISTS SAT ON THEIR HANDS AND MANAGEMENT LAID LOW AND ABSORBED THE STRIKE. THE TRADE UNION BLOCK WOULD PROBABLY SPLIT ON THE ISSUE WITH UIL TAKING A MORE INTRANSIGENT LINE THAN EITHER THE CGIL OR CISL. BUT, IN THE END, ANDREOTTI WOULD WEATHER THE STORM AND THE SCALA MOBILE WOULD HAVE A FEW MISSING STEPS.

6. ACCORDING TO GOLFARI, THE COMMUNISTS ARE LIKELY TO SETTLE FOR MINOR CONCESSIONS BECAUSE THEY FEAR NEW ELECTIONS. KNOWING THAT ANDREOTTI CANNOT ACCEPT THEM IN A GOVERNMENT BECAUSE OF THE REJECTION OF ONE STEP FARTHER BY ALL FACTIONS OF THE DC, THE COMMUNISTS REALIZE THAT THEY EITHER LET THE ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT LIVE OR FACE EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS. FOR THESE, GOLFARI SAID, BERLINGUER IS NOT PREPARED. THE PCI IS TOO DIVIDED ON THE BASIC ISSUES TO WANT TO FIGHT AN ELECTION ON THEM NOW.  
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7. FOR FIRST TIME GOLFARI SEES SPLIT WITHIN PCI LOCALLY AS IT FORCED TO DECIDE ON ATTITUDE TOWARD GOVERNMENT POLICIES. EMERGENCE OF OPEN PRO AND ANTI BERLINGUER FACTIONS IS ABSOLUTE NOVELTY, HE SAID. WITHIN LOMBARDY ASSEMBLY, PCI HAS RECENTLY BEEN OBLIGED CALL FOR RECESSES TO THRASH OUT FACTIONAL DIFFERENCES IN PRIVATE - A PREVIOUSLY UNHEARD OF PROCEDURE FOR MONOLITHIC PARTY.

8. IN ALL, GOLFARI MAINTAINS THAT DC MUST PLAY EACH ISSUE BY EAR GUIDED ONLY BY A FEW IMMUTABLE THINGS TO WHICH IT WILL SAY NO. MOST IMPORTANT OF THESE IS NO TO COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN REGIONAL OR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT WITH COMMUNISTS.

9. COMMENT: GOLFARI'S ANALYSIS IS CONSISTENT WITH HIS LATE OCTOBER VIEWS WITH RESPECT TO THE UNIMPORTANCE OF THE FORM OF CONSULTATION WITH THE COMMUNISTS. HOWEVER, HE IS MORE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT COMMUNIST WILLINGNESS TO SETTLE FOR A

CHANGES IN FORM IN EXCHANGE FOR SUPPORT THAN HE APPEARED IN  
OCTOBER. OTHERWISE, HIS CONTINUED REJECTION OF COMMUNISTS  
ADMISSION TO THE REGIONAL OR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CONFIRMS  
OTHER EVIDENCE THAT DC PARTY IN CRUCIAL LOMBARDY IS UN-  
EQUIVOCALLY OPPOSED TO ADMITTING PCI TO GOVERNMENT IN  
FORSEEABLE FUTURE.FINA

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